

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[17] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If

[182] that was its raison d'
[32] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

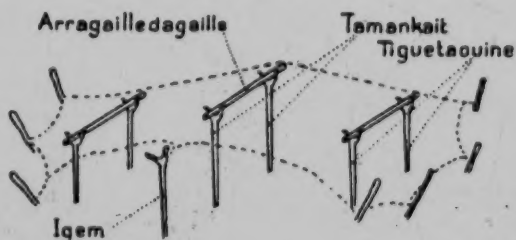


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

• [285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg. 362

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Ikian get back from the well. [415
291]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.



When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp. [412]

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412
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Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462



Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 662]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 • [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 415 438

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

342 Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are 281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick 342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ochreous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by [285] 351 long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [29]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" + . . .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaft" + . . .

A pole, "idjem" 3'1' , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" 1:V3 . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" 3 V 3 + . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselita" 4 + 1 0 + . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" : ' ' ' ,
plural "idjedjan" 1' ' ' .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" : # I [285]
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" 0 0 0 824
plural "isebran" 1 0 0 0 , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abelor" : 2 3 3 , plural "ibiyar" 415
: 2 3 3 , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" 1: 3 1' + .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" 2 1 1 0
plural "isegueffa", 1 1 1 0 . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" + : 0 1 + , plural "tiferouin" 1: 0 1 +
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "touloul" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" 3 : 1 + , plural "tinouarin" 1 0 : 1 + , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" : 1 # . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
11 : 3 . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" T + : + , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

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53. An Ag Adar basket maker.

[p.242]

*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferrwan of Northern Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *ikhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elherwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihad* (sing. *tehed*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*ukhumit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[Text continues on p. 77]

Camels . Riding Saddles

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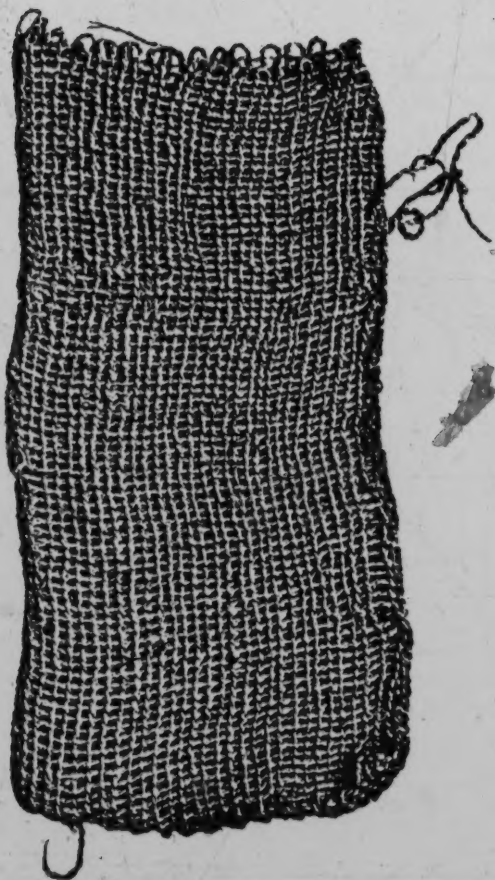


Fig. 59. Transportation bag (*achchabker*) plaited from cords of date palm bast. Made by *Harratin* of Tidikelt, bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 1.18 m long, 0.58 m broad. (N.M. G. 5217).

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[412] that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *serik* and *tahyast* types.

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[285] All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *aseffer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *oneslaq* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66-67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azur* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihw'neren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

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[237] The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-legged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkad*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasile-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a-b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

* 492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35-0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekreg* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

* 492
415 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

Camels . Riding Saddles

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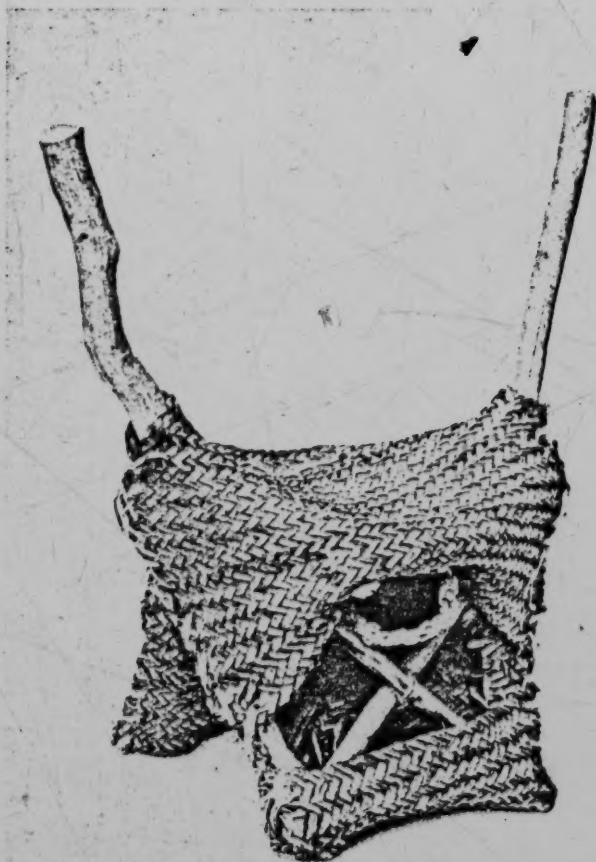
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Fig. 65. Riding saddle of the type known as *kantarki* or *delobi*. It is structurally related to the saddle depicted Fig. 64, but is covered with matting plaited of dum palm leaves. Ayr, the *Igenddynen* tribe. Dimension: 0.53 m high. (N.M. G. 6611).

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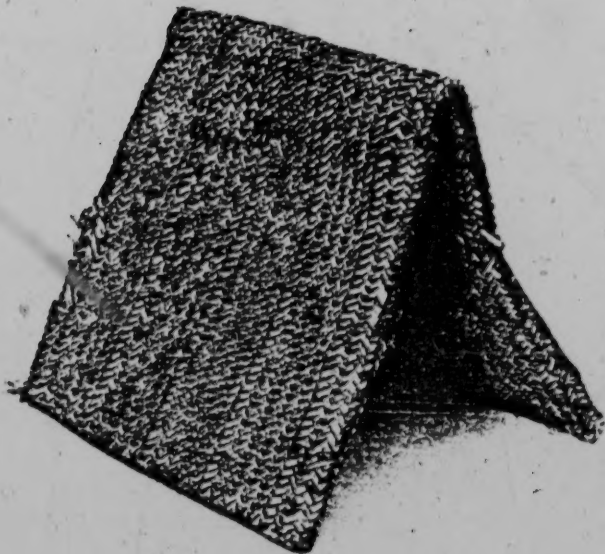


Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*fessis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imazzeweg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *Ngam* (Fig. 73-74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekhemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

*492 In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Iregaten* tribe, and in tribes of the *Isekhemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation

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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*hweweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tassile-n-Ajjer.

* 492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagoley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76-77). It should be understood that a saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

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[Text continues on p.92]

- 243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
 [262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
 are most important subsistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
 [171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
 [221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoides*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
 [461] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
 much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
 wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
 [388] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallok*; it has smaller seeds than
 the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
 to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*tsenit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*ajum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asen*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*tdyerirt*, pl. *tdyrrw*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Milk and Butter -

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- Fig. 153a-b. Tuareg funnels (*assegefi*, pl. *assegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
- Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
 - Funnel plaited from straw of *talagget* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234
*4/15 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156-157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*agtiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*amwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*adi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*térét*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a-b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *ayeznis* (*Chlamydomorpha pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*adi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asagen*, *arakhha*) (Figs. 161-162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. 163a-b). A particular metal pail (*éfir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar.

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Cheese

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Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takemmart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tayekar*) (Figs. 195a-b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammiar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*deber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkar*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *takemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tediyant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaron* (*Caralluma Mowettii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*ésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*ésebert*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

The *takemmart* or *takemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be soaked. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.



Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *daunsky* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Ajaj-an-ahid* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 176).

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Meat

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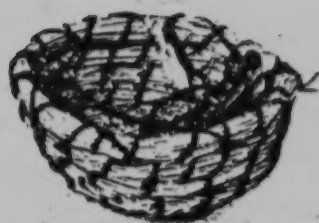
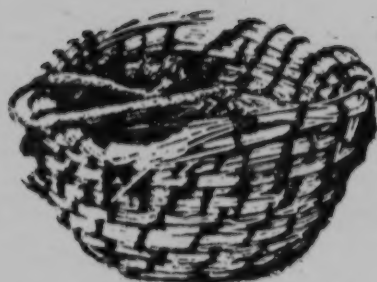


Fig. 167a-b. Baskets of the *aragus* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*owdes*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*dhefflen*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajakh-en-nehid* tribe.
a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).
b. Dimension: 0.100-0.105 m high, 0.205-0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

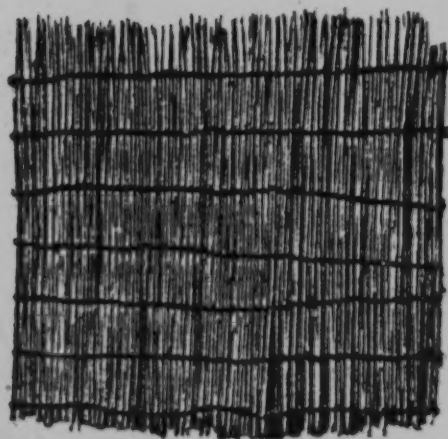


Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*sischawi*) used for the manufacture of *sakom-mari*-cheese known as *sakommari* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afren* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akorra* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 x 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

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Liquid Dishes

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Fig. 183. Baking a *tagella* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, Ahl Azzi Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*taggit*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *solaggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Aful-en-tekhl* tribe. Dimension: 0.333-0.343 m in diameter. (N. M. G. 5836).

Kuskur

247

Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*sakeyke* - perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Day Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.385 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).



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Fig. 186. Pot (*salekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afah-en-tekht* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).



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in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as mentioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat.

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 196a-c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *rafakem* (pl. *rafakem*).

- a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Agh-er-terhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5215).
- b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).
- c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Agh-er-terhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

* 415



Fig. 197. Small calabash (*rafakem*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Agh-er-terhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.093 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

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Fig. 210a-b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462]

- a. *taklullit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*agum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Rat* in Tassilt-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanqasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).
b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*agum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woolen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 3837a-b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50-60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a length of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a-b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1935a, p. 319).

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The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*sedufi*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing. *tirrir*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a-b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

Spinning and Weaving

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286
that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415*
women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462
with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565
hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isikhamaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283
to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin 832
their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of
simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tidali* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of 821
the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use
of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant 842
has also been introduced. 822

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285 ●
who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

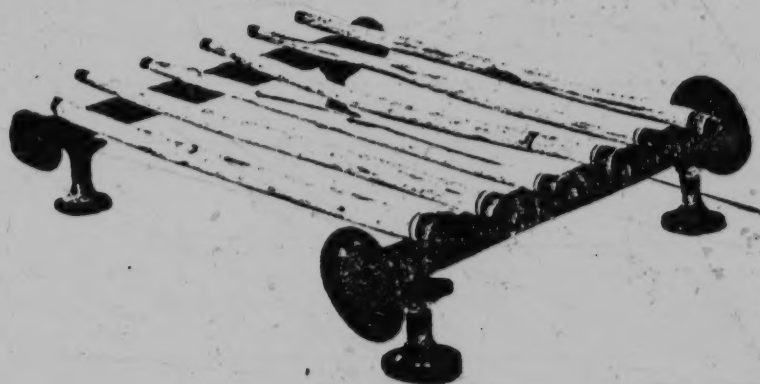


Fig. 211. Basket (*alegragar*) plaited from date palm leaves (*asun*). The handle is of date palm leaf (*asun*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abouloua. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 3835).

Text continues on p. 269

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Basketry

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[285]

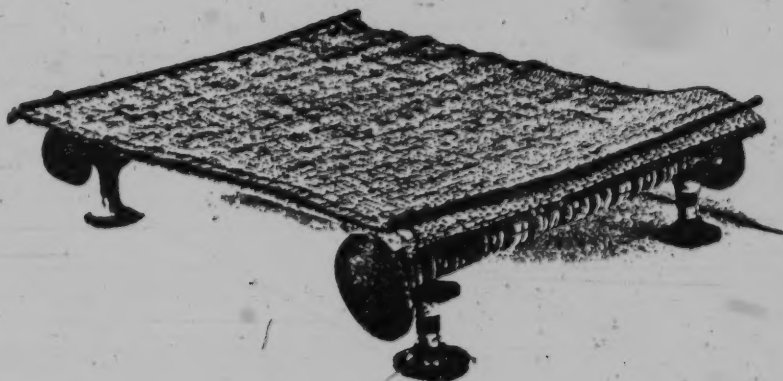


Fig. 212a-b. The large wooden bed (*tababar*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

- a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tesekelt*, pl. *tisekalt*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabarakat*, pl. *tibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifasasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriya*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *teresa*.
- b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*tesberi*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70 × 1.36 × 0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a-o).

Basketry

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may be seen in Fig. 167a-b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tisent*) (Fig. 218a). [285] [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a-c, 210a-b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [266]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the Kel Ayr. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguen*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). This basket type (*tésent*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [224] [413] [462] [167]

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éserber* or *téserber* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the Kel Ahaggar (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a-b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [357] [462] [352] [463] [462] [342] [430]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitutes the most important craft in the [281]

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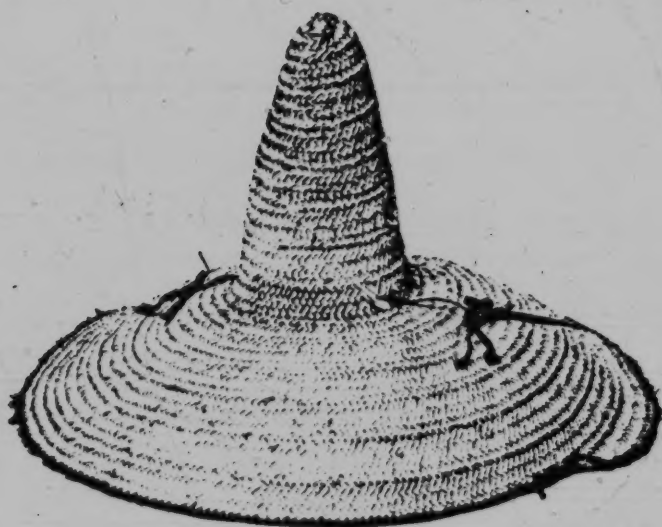


Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*rélé*) plaited from strips of date palm leaves (*agum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Bati* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220-229.

* 462 Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, annulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a-b, 172a-b, 198).

Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *telé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Haratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 285 177 177 177

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maier* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misir* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:—"A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 292 290

[p. 287]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Tuilenmeden Kel Ataram* around Msenka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38, p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tyatmen* (sing. *tyatim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south.

[438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takalmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig.

[114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than

other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplaitine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name 2

[Text continues on p. 300]

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Fig. 261. The wooden skeleton of a large and very high *éhen* hut. The stone-ring serves to keep pebbles and impurities away from the dwelling. Ayr, Azal.

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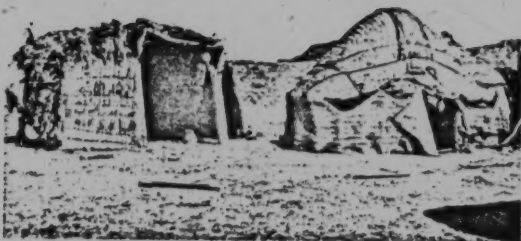


Fig. 262. An *éhen* hut covered with mats like those used for barrel-vaulted dwellings among pastoral Tuareg of Ayr (right). To the left a *sajam* hut. Behind the *éhen* hut a glimpse of a beehive hut (*sajam*). Many dwelling types are often found within a single village in the Sahara. Ayr, Awderas.

(3) To the three arches are now added two crossbars (*lagar*, sing. *éager*), resting horizontally in slender forked sticks (*isektan*, sing. *asektu*) which are fixed vertically in the ground. The two systems of crossbars are placed parallel to the three arches to constitute the narrow sides of the hut structure. The number of vertical sticks supporting a horizontal cross-bar vary.

(4) A number of slender rods (*illellewan*, sing. *allelewo*), which, as a rule, are made from midribs of date palm leaves, are fastened to the horizontal crossbars and to the arches which they cross at a right angle. These rods, or semi-arches, are fastened in the same way as described below for barrel-vaulted dwellings of pastoral Tuareg.

The main structure of a not too large barrel-vaulted hut as that just described is very akin to that of the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, but very large huts of the Ayr villages

Barrel-Vaulted Huts

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have a more elaborate structure as will be seen from the illustrations Figs. 260 & 261. A large hut may have even five or seven arches of different height, there may be up to ten sticks to support the rather long horizontal cross-bars, and the slender rods or semi-arches fastened to the cross-bars and to the arches may be as many as about 40, each rod being actually made from two pieces fastened to each other at the middle arch. In such very large huts there will always be a central post (*tégetewr*), which is forked at its upper end to support the middle of the central arch and thus the whole structure. The central post is the last structural element to be inserted. It is pressed against the middle of the central arch and is thereupon buried in the ground.

Barrel-vaulted huts of the *éhen* type are normally covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves similar to the mats used for portable dwellings of the same type (cf. Figs. 262). But the lower parts of the hut may be covered with a simple mat plaited of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) identical with the mat which covers the lower part of a beehive hut. To fasten a grass mat of this kind it is necessary to attach a number of horizontal rods (*ilegwan*, sing. *élaweg*) to the vertical sticks supporting the horizontal cross-bars, and to the lower parts of the arches at the two long sides.



Fig. 263. True barrel-vaulted structures covered with plaited mats and used for market-stalls by the Songhai of Ayoru on the Niger.

B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

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342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable dwellings of the Tuareg are historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

B.1. Mat Tents

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*342 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering then "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *écher* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iweweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a-d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bella* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*
342 My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar
1147 Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *ameggebala*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekketkewat* (pl. *tekketkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *i'llisawin* (sing. *i'llisawin*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekketkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *i'llisawin*. — The curved pieces

Mat Tents

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lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*idkewt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Rad-diana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *iyar* (sing. *éséger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *illelwan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped structure:— *iweweren* (sing. *éwewer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *éséfel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asale-mamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *érell* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00 x 4.30 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:—

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*idabui*), which is used everywhere in the south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

- The curved pieces 342*
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or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30-0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:—

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 x 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekketkewat* (sing. *tekketkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*sidabar*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *taff* *q* *lewa* and *i* *l* *laawia* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

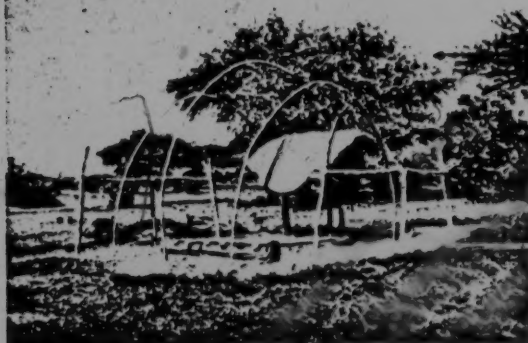


Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*lga*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*sigetawia*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

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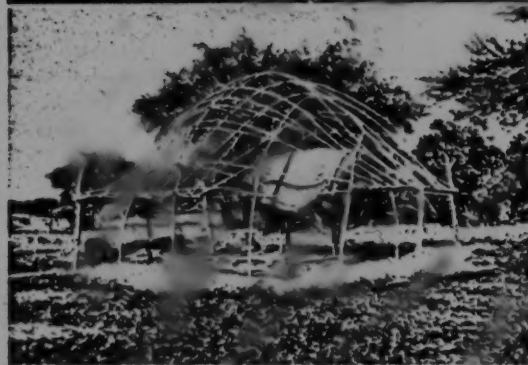


Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound round the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

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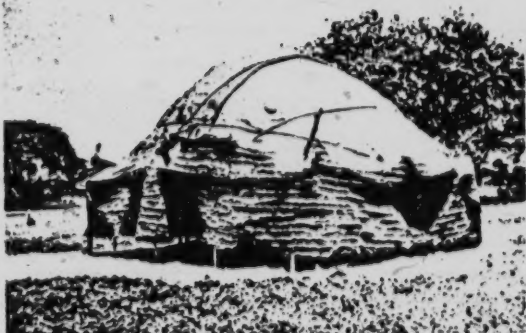
The Erection of a Mat Tent in
Ayr.

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semi-arches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iweweren* (sing. *iwerner*) is seen on this photograph.



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Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*isfal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asakmamas*) are placed over the *iweweren* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*dyell*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.



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Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a-g but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imazzeweg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.



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* 342 shape. In Southern Twareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Demek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80-150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregi*/Twareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

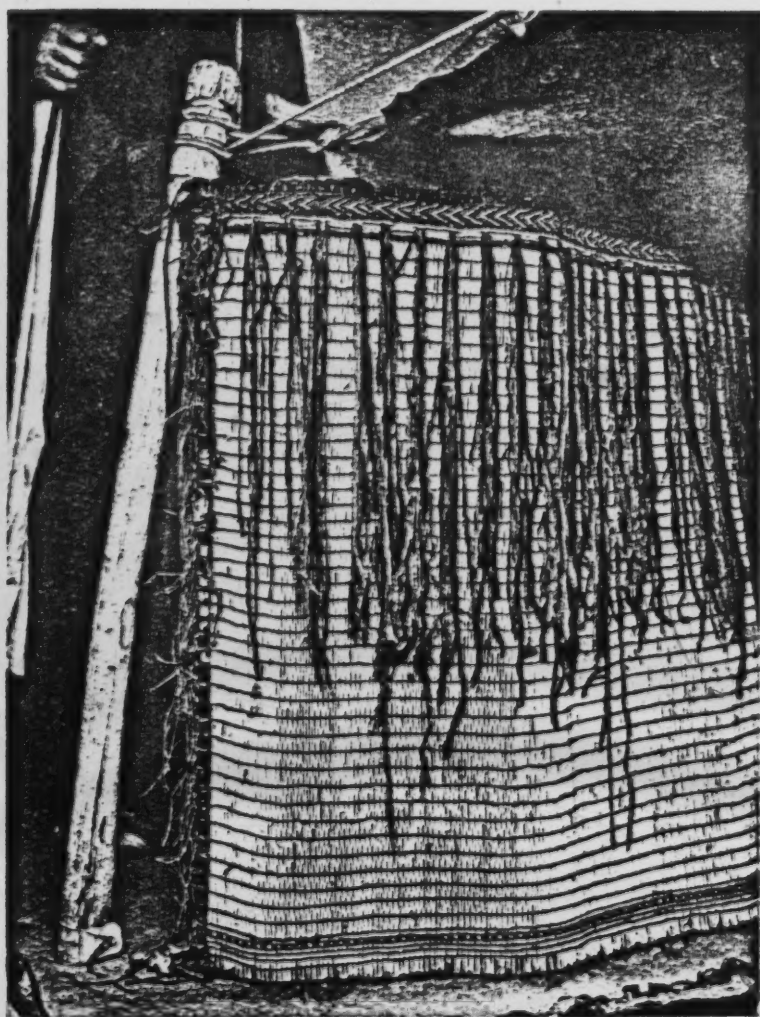
[307] The Twareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Twareg as *ayale* (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *ayale*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *ayale*. Among the Northern Twareg the sheet is manufactured in Twareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Demek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

* 342 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Twareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Twareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267-269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *écher* (pl. *iesheru*) both among the Northern Twareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Demek* is *šiteš* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *šiteš* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Twareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,



Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Ajeb-ou-ahid* tribe.

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Fig. 284. Mat of afex grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Olofson's collection from Abingon, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 8,87 x 0,85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

*342 and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *afnes* (pl. *lfnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu*
 ● 285 stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary

[35] pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

*342 Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *ehen*, and the sheet is called *ehakii*. The *Kel*
 [28] *Dennek* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *ehen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *ehen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *éwerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *ehen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40-0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*elaweg*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *umusen* (sing. *umus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *igem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaren* (sing. *madar*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisetitay* (sing. *tasetitit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adrar*. Among the *Kel Dennek* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *lidel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

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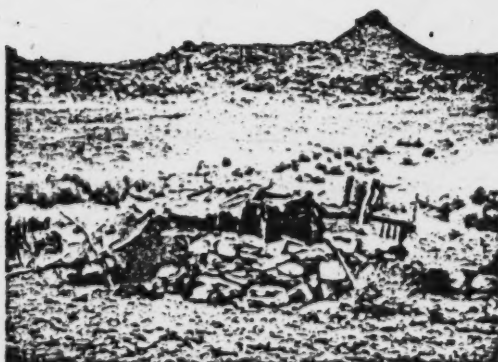
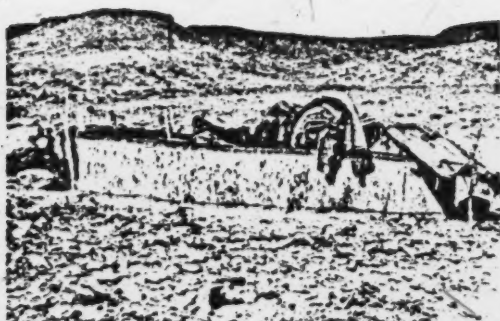


Fig. 269a-b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*dseber*) and a stone wall (*amutey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Aghak-en-tehld* tribe.

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the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaɣ*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Willemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the